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**Adding human security and human resilience to help  
advance the SDGs agenda**

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## Abstract

The 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) respond to humanity's challenge to live humanely, justly, sustainably and in peace on our interconnected globe. Pursuit of the Agenda is inevitably subject to forces that 'shake and stir' it. Correspondingly, our analytical frameworks need to be shaken and stirred too, to be more perceptive and responsive to emergent objective threats, subjective fears, and their impacts. A human security perspective offers an essential complement to the thinking and action underway for the SDGs, because insecurities arise in diverse and fluctuating forms in the daily lives of most people, produced by local, national, international and global forces. The worldwide 'shake and stir' triggered by COVID-19 is a reminder of how serious and all-encompassing such disruption can be. A human security perspective should be added in and/or to SDGs planning and implementation, at country level and in multilateral arenas. The perspective can draw together many available tools and stimulate their use focused on recognising and managing threats in people's daily lives, not least by increasing human resilience. This paper presents the approach's rationale, certain components, and its relevance to the SDGs Agenda, then gives two extended case studies: first, from almost 20 years of experience with human security-related thinking and practice in Latvia, and, second, from the COVID-19 pandemic and the resulting crises. It concludes with suggestions for UN organizations, governments, and policy researchers.

## Keywords

Sustainable Development Goals, human security approach, human resilience, Latvia, COVID-19 crisis, social contract.

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# Adding human security and human resilience to help advance the SDGs agenda

## 1 Introduction

This paper considers whether and how the human security approach can complement the SDGs and Agenda 2030, helping to promote their attainment despite risks to humankind such as illustrated in the COVID-19 pandemic. Around 75 years ago, world leaders created the United Nations and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), in order to promote freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom to live in dignity.<sup>1</sup> The notion of being free from fear, want and indignity was translated later into the concept of human security (UNDP 1994; CHS 2003; UN Secretary-General 2010). Human security analysis puts people at centre-stage, by looking at threats to major values in their lives, not only threats to physical security. We suggest it can complement and assist the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda, adding more depth and realism to its commitment “to leave no one behind”. This paper offers first, an overview of human security analysis in a way that seeks to underline its practical relevance in relation to that agenda; second, a case-study at national level, from Latvia, one of the countries that has given the most serious attention to both human security ideas and the SDGs and has developed strong emphases on supporting human resilience; third, application of the ideas to the COVID-19 pandemic and its challenges, including as experienced in Latvia; and fourth, some concluding suggestions. The paper is intended as a stimulus and source for policy practitioners; it is not written as a political economy of global human insecurity and does not attempt to address every obstacle and challenge arising.

Globally, consensus has been reached on addressing development through Agenda 2030 (United Nations 2015) and its seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), an extraordinary feat, including consensus on the call “to leave no one behind”. The SDGs have been successful in gaining attention, adoption and recognition as a shared framework with targets relevant across the world. Some countries have incorporated the goals and selected targets in their national planning, for example Germany. By mid-2020, 169 out of 193 UN member states were due to have presented their Voluntary National Review to the UN High-Level Political Forum (HLPF). Numerous businesses likewise refer now to the SDGs in their corporate social responsibility reporting.

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<sup>1</sup> The 1941 State of the Union speech by US President Roosevelt, spoke of four freedoms: freedoms of speech and of worship, and freedoms from want (i.e. extreme lack or need) and fear. Later the more concise yet more capacious three freedoms version appeared and was subsequently re-launched via 1990s UN human security discourse (see e.g. UN Secretary-General 2000).

Many of these plans and reports paint an optimistic picture. Often though, their tone jars with many social, political, economic and environmental realities in the countries discussed. Income and wealth inequalities have soared; destructive levels of global heating, biodiversity loss and other environmental damage continue, and so do widespread violent conflicts and remilitarisation. Currently 71 million persons are forcibly displaced from their homes (UNHCR 2020) and many of the 270 million international migrants (IOM 2020) have moved as a strategy to cope with insecurities they faced at home. The UN Secretary-General's monitoring report warned even before COVID-19 that the world was off-track for achieving most SDGs (UN Secretary-General 2019). Since 2015, global governance has retrogressed on various fronts and in important locales, related to a rise of exclusivist nationalist ideologies.

With the COVID-19 pandemic, the disparities in the life chances that people have and the insecurities they face have become yet more evident. Not just affecting health, COVID-19 has far-reaching consequences in many aspects of daily lives, as a major threat to freedom from fear and want and freedom to live in dignity. It has exposed the stratified classist nature of national and global societies and laid bare the "violence of social inequality" (Piketty 2020). Marginalised individuals and communities are particularly vulnerable both to the virus and to losing their livelihood. The pandemic and the associated ramifying crises have heightened our awareness: of pervasive interconnections and consequent vulnerability, especially affecting many specific and marginal groups; of potential surprises and the challenge to respond to risks and uncertainty; of the need to think harder about fragility and promoting resilience; of the desirability of reserves and not only 'just-in-time' procurement; of the needs for intersectoral and international cooperation; and more.

In this paper we present a case for activating and using a human security approach in going further with the 2030 Agenda. Human security thinking, a foundational strand in UN conceptual architecture (Jolly et al., 2009) offers relevant intellectual, operational and inspirational grounding (Koehler et al. 2012). It can help sharpen *ex ante* diagnoses and prognoses and post-disasters responses and can illuminate the objective and subjective insecurities that fuel partisan populism and nationalism (Burgess et al. 2007). The paper looks at the case of Latvia as an interesting example to suggest potentials and challenges of incorporating a human security approach as partner to the SDGs in a policy process. Using also the COVID-19 pandemic as a case, we argue the necessity of combining the SDGs with a flexible and integrative human-centred perspective that helps prepare for and respond to the diverse conditions and evolving threats and challenges that arise locally, nationally and globally. This perspective can mobilize and focus many existing tools and ideas, including the principle of promoting human resilience. We give various suggestions that we hope will be useful in ongoing SDGs-review discussions. We use examples from, and aim to be relevant to, the full spectrum of countries: high-, middle- and low-income.

## **2 How can human security ideas support and complement the SDGs?**

Human security embodies the core promise of the 2030 Agenda: to leave no one behind (Guterres (UN Secretary-General] 2019, xi).

The SDGs present an integrated set of global norms and goals that stimulate intra-, inter- and trans-national (including multi-lateral) cooperation (see e.g. Biermann et al. 2017). They rely on a wide variety of such alliances and have evident potential for inspiring new alliances and action thanks to their practical orientation, including the goals-targets-indicators format plus national and local-level flexibility in prioritizing, interpreting and extending the goals and targets and choosing means for action. But: first, in the situation of widespread post-2015 political reactions against global cooperation and inclusive governance, sustaining such actions and alliances requires fuller articulation of ideas and values that justify and motivate cooperation to pursue the goals. Second, the SDGs were designed to counteract policy silos, but can sometimes create their own silos. Third, they try to prioritise and coordinate activity in a presumed relatively stable world, to prevent drastic disruptions, more than being strongly oriented also to managing the shocks and turbulence that will and do arise. Human security thinking thus has important roles in relation to the SDGs – in understanding vulnerabilities, preparing for and responding to disruptions, supporting a necessary cross-sector perspective, motivating cooperation, and so in giving substance to the notion of “leaving no one behind”.

### **2.1 General themes of human security analysis**

The UN General Assembly Resolution 66/290 of 2012 on human security stated that:

...human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to survival, livelihood and dignity of their people. Based on this, a common understanding on the notion of human security includes the following:

- (a) The right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. All individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential;
- (b) Human security calls for people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities;

(c) Human security recognizes the interlinkages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights...” (UN General Assembly 2012; from item 3).<sup>2</sup>

These core ideas combine concerns with first, fulfilling priority human needs and preventing deprivation, and second, addressing the specific threats that in situations of vulnerability can damage attainment of important values. Where the two concerns intersect, they cover threats to survival, livelihood and dignity for persons in their everyday life, notably for the more marginalised (Gasper and Gómez 2014). The SDGs, like the MDGs, appear more oriented to dealing with basic deprivations and less oriented to understanding and responding to threats, although compared to the MDGs they include some steps in relation to threats arising from unsustainability.<sup>3</sup>

A similar formulation—in Sen (2014) and more concisely in O’Brien and Leichenko (2007)—describes human security analysis as follows. Such analysis combines an ‘equity dimension’—the concerns for all persons, now and in the future, and with seeking to ensure their basic requirements—and a ‘connectivity dimension’, the understanding that fulfilment of these basic priorities can be affected and threatened through the intersections of many factors that are conventionally often considered separately (Gasper and Gómez 2014). The interconnections can vary situation-by-situation, as also to some extent can the interpretation of what are basic priorities. These two dimensions of human security thinking—equity and ‘connectivity’—deepen simpler ‘development’ orientations that focus only on increasing aggregate output or on increasing the extent of valued attainable options for everyone.

#### *Important threats to important values in the lives of particular groups of people*

So, a human security approach studies what are threats to major valued aspects in people’s lives, who is affected and how, and how to try to prevent and/or counteract the threats and their effects. It “requires understanding the particular threats experienced by particular groups of people, [and therefore requires] the participation of those people in the analysis process. Threats to human security can exist at all levels of development. They can emerge slowly and silently or appear suddenly and dramatically” (Gómez and Gasper 2013, 2).

Understanding the range of threats experienced by particular groups of people comes from looking at their lives as wholes, considering connections, not looking only at a society as a set of ‘sectors’ that are considered separately from each other. A person’s life is lived as a whole, involving a plurality of

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<sup>2</sup> The subsequent clauses of the Resolution’s formulation of the “common understanding” specify what the human security concept does not replace and does not include (e.g., amongst the latter, the Responsibility to Protect).

<sup>3</sup> The SDGs document, United Nations (2015), makes little or no use of the terms ‘threat’, ‘hazard’, ‘downturn’, ‘downside’, ‘crisis’, or even ‘risk’ or ‘security’. It makes much more use of ‘vulnerable’, but almost always only as a partner term for ‘the poor’, and of ‘resilient’, which it applies more often to ecosystems, habitats, buildings, cities and other infrastructure than to people and communities.



interwoven, interacting strands, not lived as x different parallel lives in x separate sectors. Arguably, “the concept of human security is able to capture [the broad] range of threats and risks” that a person faces in his/her single lived-as-a-whole life (Rubio-Marin and Estrada-Tanck, 2013, 238). This has been now well illustrated in many studies, including national and regional Human Development Reports that have used a human security approach.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Checklist of elements of human security analysis*

One can break down such analysis into a series of questions (cf. Gómez and Gasper 2013, Gómez et al. 2016)

1. Whose security? Who are the agents considered?
2. Security of what? Within the broad framework of “survival, livelihood and dignity”, which values will receive attention, at a particular time and place in a particular study?
3. Security in respect to which threats?
4. Security and threats as perceived by whom?
5. To be responded to by whom?
6. Using what means? For example, through (and/or by upgrading) the existing authorized institutions or by innovation?
7. To what extent? What minimum thresholds and target levels should prevail?

#### *Whose security? (Qn. 1)*

The answer to “whose security?” is the security of people, rather than the security of national territory or armed forces or GDP or of only property-holders. It includes everyone – leaving no-one behind. This commitment rests on principles of universal human rights, and implies that, since access and situations are skewed, special efforts need to be made for those individuals and communities who face disadvantage and exclusion, for example the income-poorest, children, and/or people who are systematically excluded on the basis of gender, ethnicity, colour, caste, migration- or citizenship status, sexual orientation, and/or other identity vectors. Often these marginalisations intersect and overlap, making it difficult for the affected people to cope.

While “to leave no one behind” is used as a headline-summary of the SDGs, responsibility for action falls in the first instance to states. To fulfil the SDGs requires in each country the framework of a *social contract* between citizens – or in fact all residents – and the state. We use this term to refer not to any particular philosophical theory but to two mutually dependent sets of

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<sup>4</sup> See e.g. two studies that reviewed many national and regional Human Development Reports that adopted a human security approach: 1) Jolly and Basu Ray, 2006 and 2007; 2) Gómez et al., 2013 and 2016. For both studies, a longer report plus a shorter journal article were published. See also e.g. Estrada-Tanck 2016, Hobson et al. 2014.

responsibilities: the responsibility of the state to assure, whether by delivery or other arrangements, an agreed set of public goods and services and other core values and valuables, and the responsibility of citizens to contribute to the functioning of the society by, among other things, legal compliance, including tax compliance, thereby making possible the state's functioning (Loewe et al. 2019; Loewe et al. 2020; UN Secretary-General 2020).

Marginalised groups and non-citizens are in practice often excluded from the discussion, because of prevalent power hierarchies. Most social services are difficult to access for marginalised groups, and at best only minimally accessible to non-citizens (e.g., for social protection see Kool and Nimeh, forthcoming). This leaves, for example, those immigrants who are engaged in daily labour, irregular immigrants and even asylum-seekers in an especially precarious position. Exclusion may result from legal restrictions and other societal structures and institutions, compounded by community-level exclusion processes (see, e.g., Kabeer, 2000; Koehler and Namala 2020). If we truly consider 'people's security', we need to look at marginalised people and at citizens and non-citizens alike.

The current pandemic underlines how relatively privileged groups are sometimes vulnerable too. For example, the middle class working as small entrepreneurs or in occupations outside of government service and large companies has faced major economic setbacks (Sullivan, Warren and Westbrook 2020). This affects in turn many other people, for such groups sustained other jobs and paid into tax systems that support social protection.

*Which threats to which values/valuables? (Qns. 2 & 3) -- Respecting interconnections and thinking outside silos*

The 1994 global Human Development Report (HDR) gave an introductory list of seven realms of possibly threatened values/valuables: economic security; food access; health; environmental security; personal physical security; security of community life; and political security. The list serves as an initial 'handrail' that conveniently mirrors conventional administrative divisions. But studying people's lives requires systems-thinking. People and societies exist within interconnected global and environmental systems each with their own limits and reactions; knock-on effects and feedbacks can magnify original shocks. In Japan's 'triple disaster' of 2011, for example, a mega-earthquake led to a mega-tsunami that led to a near mega-nuclear crisis at Fukushima. Such a scenario provides a hint of the much greater ramifying impacts that climate change could bring. There are limits and dangers then in trying to divide security into fixed, sharply distinct categories. As illustrated in the 'triple disaster' and the corona crisis, the conventional sets of at-risk valuables are often highly interconnected, so to analyse these crises and to respond only in seven (or seventeen) separate policy boxes can be a mistake. Human security analyses should help to counteract silo-ism, including by a focus on surprises, threats, and interlinkages. Scenario analysis in anticipation of crises is highly relevant.

*Whose perceptions of security? (Qn. 4)*

Next to the seven realms of valuables set out above, psychological security must also be considered. While left out of the 1994 HDR list, it is central to well-being and for effective policies. Many authors and reports now study ‘existential (in)security’ (e.g., Inglehart and Norris 2012, using data from the World Values Survey) – including feelings of (lack of) meaningfulness, relatedness and being treated with due dignity – as a (missing) basis for personal resilience and self-efficacy. It does not fit any standard policy portfolio or ministry or department title, for it represents not one more sectoral concern but the doppelganger partner to all concerns with ‘objective security’. Besides expert (or supposed expert) assessments of security, ordinary people’s security perceptions are fundamentally important. Sometimes they reflect realities which (supposed) experts have overlooked, misunderstood or ignored; but even when mistaken they still affect people’s behaviour and their cooperation or resistance.

A rich and fruitful field of research has opened up in human security studies on “people’s fears and perceptions, their felt insecurities, blind spots, what they cherish and what they feel is endangered” (Gasper and Gómez 2015, 112).<sup>5</sup> Policies that ignore people’s own perceptions of (in)security are problematic as they can in effect undermine the social contract between the citizen and the society. Table 1 suggests a range of scenarios. In most of them public and expert viewpoints are not aligned. Sometimes that is because expert views can be distorted, for example if inter-expert competition leads to over-accentuating the relevance of certain topics and the consequences of not

**Table 1**  
**Expert Views versus Popular Views (from Gómez and Gasper 2013)**

	EXPERTS UNDERESTIMATE DANGER	EXPERTS ASSESS DANGER ACCURATELY	EXPERTS OVERESTIMATE DANGER
THE PUBLIC UNDERESTIMATE DANGER	‘Time bombs’	Public blindness	Expert alarmism
THE PUBLIC ASSESS DANGER ACCURATELY	Professional blindness	Threats are well understood	
THE PUBLIC OVERESTIMATE DANGER		Unfounded public panics	Society-wide panic

Source: Gómez and Gasper 2013

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., UNDP 1998, 2001, 2003, 2011, 2012a, 2013; Burgess et al. 2007; UNESCO 2008; Hobson et al. 2014; Bacon and Hobson 2014. “Sensitivity to subjective aspects is central to thinking about human development from the vantage point of people, as opposed to states, and informing and enabling participatory decision-making and creating social contracts between citizens and governments” (Koehler et al., 2012: 87).

addressing them. Conversely, ‘public panics’ and ‘public blindness’ may both be fanned by (real) ‘fake news’ and new social media.<sup>6</sup>

This returns us to the question of whose (in)security is recognised. As indicated previously, people experience threats differently depending on their position in society. There is then not only one set of relationships that needs to be maintained in the social contract (see e.g. UNDP 2016). If the effects of crises or policies are not adequately addressed, they can exacerbate existing hierarchical lines in society, which will bring knock-on effects; for example, perceptions of failure on the side of marginalised individuals, protests, or withdrawal of cooperation.

*Which policy agents, using which policy tools? (Qns. 5 & 6) – Principles of empowerment/ agency and securitability/ human resilience*

States and formal organisations cannot effectively handle all insecurities. Individual and group resilience are also key. So any policy response should consider not only external protection of people against threats but their own agency in coping. This emphasis in policy design, strongly articulated by the UN Commission on Human Security (the Ogata-Sen Commission: CHS 2003), connects to the concept of *securitability* which emerged independently in work in Latvia (UNDP 2003): people’s ability to contribute to their own security, including to avoid, cope with and overcome situations of insecurity. Securitability is close to the concept of resilience which came out of environmental studies, but it is more human and more far-reaching.<sup>7</sup> It is now often referred to as *human resilience*. In this paper, we treat securitability and human resilience interchangeably. In addition, human security-oriented policy analysis and policy design connect closely to human rights-based approaches and can draw on their myriad strengths while complementing them in important ways (Estrada-Tanck 2016; Teitel 2011; Bilgic et al. 2020; Gasper 2020a).

## **2.2 How can human security ideas support and complement the SDGs? – specific suggestions**

SDGs reporting, analysis, and policy preparation can benefit from principles and methods that have been articulated and applied in human security studies (e.g., Martin and Owen 2014, Gasper 2020b) and elsewhere.

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<sup>6</sup> The table does not cover all relevant issues, such as what is perceived as danger. For some people, decline in their status or erosion of identity, for example, are felt as major dangers, not necessarily recognised by technical experts. Also, ‘the public’ often needs to be disaggregated further; and beyond the table’s classification are the unknown unknowns which no one can estimate adequately.

<sup>7</sup> Securitability as per the full Latvian definition concerns the capacity to be and feel secure, avoid pervasive or sudden threats, retain a certain sense of security when such situations occur, and re-establish security and the sense of security when these have been compromised (UNDP 2003).

### *Asking people; comparing and contrasting perceptions of priority values, threats and security*

For specifying important threats to important valuables in the lives of particular groups of people, we must take into account different groups and hear peoples' opinions. Studies must bring in broad sources of information and multiple perspectives, including 'voices of the poor', voices of the socially excluded, and, more broadly, voices of the people.<sup>8</sup> Surveys of people's security perceptions can be very useful (e.g., UNDP 2003, 2005, 2011, 2012a). They often reveal surprising discrepancies; for example, "levels of felt insecurity are similar throughout the [Latin American] region despite very different recorded or estimated incidences [of crime] (UNDP, 2013)" (Gasper and Gómez 2015, 108). Frequent discrepancies are found also between people's perceptions and the data produced by official statistical systems or independent research or the judgements of professionals. Understanding such discrepancies is important for effective (re-)design and attempted implementation of SDG programmes.

### *Identifying 'hotspots', and using indexes*

Some specific methods include the following. First, people in difficult places should be supported and empowered to identify and report threats and risks. Second, regionally disaggregated studies of threats and of key risks and uncertainties should identify 'hot-spots' where many risks and problems are found together and might further fuel each other. This identification helps to direct attention towards priority localities, making a demanding policy agenda more manageable (Owen 2014). Third, a more ambitious tool for the same purposes—namely, capturing attention and then justifying concentrated actions in selected localities—is a human security index. Such indices based on objective/official data lead to instructive comparisons (and often striking contrasts) with local domestic production figures, the local HDIs, and indices based on local people's perceptions (see e.g. Benin's 2011 national HDR: UNDP 2011).<sup>9</sup> As discussed above, no index is unquestionable or sufficient but good indexes help both to raise questions and to inform decision-making in the face of complexity.

### *Using flexible focusing*

A further way to keep human security analyses manageable is to alternate (a) comprehensive comparative studies with (b) in-depth studies that focus on priorities suggested by the preceding comprehensive study (Gómez et al., 2013). A 'comprehensive' study covers many 'sectors' and issues, but not in full

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<sup>8</sup> Examples include the equity and sustainability field hearings of the NGO Initiative for Equality (Rogers and Balázs 2016) and the hotspot studies in India by the Centre for Social Equity and Inclusion (Namala and Rajesh 2019).

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Khan and Abdus Sabur (2011), Werthes et al. (2011) and Hastings (2013) for national-level indexes, and UNDP (2011) for sub-national indexes. Work is underway for the African Union on an Africa Human Security Index.

depth. Instead it seeks to identify sectors, issues or localities for further research and/or priority attention. It can assist in attempted comparison of different threats, comparison of the perceptions and the actualities of particular threats, better understanding of interlinkages (e.g. by scenarios work), and identification of hotspots (Gómez and Gasper 2013).

#### *Systematic comparisons between alternative policy routes*

A human security perspective leads one to compare how different responses to a threat affect the people whom one seeks to support, and also to compare how people benefit (or not) from prioritising different threats.<sup>10</sup> So:

1. A fundamental principle is that prevention is often better and cheaper than cure. In epidemics, for example, public health systems, preventive health programmes, protective equipment and basic sanitation should be primary. Serious prevention sometimes requires deep new causal analysis and considerable investment.
2. Related to the priority of prevention, a focus on how people's welfare is actually affected sometimes leads to questions about the relative degree of relevance and priority of conventional 'security' responses, such as overwhelming reliance on the military for national security (see e.g.: Kaldor and Beebe 2010; Human Security Study Group 2016) or concentration on high-cost elite metropolis-based facilities in health security.
3. Prioritising prevention before cure involves setting priorities within sectors and, even harder, priorities between sectors. However, it can fit within the recommended procedure of alternating (a) periodic comprehensive comparative studies, that review what are relative priorities between sectors and sub-sectors/activities, and (b) concentration then for a period on the identified priority areas. (See e.g., Gómez et al. 2013.)

To sum up, human security analysis can complement the SDGs agenda in several ways. First, it sharpens the SDG notion of leaving no one behind. Priority should go to those most strongly negatively affected. Second, it helps us question in particular contexts which threats are really worst for people and need to be prioritised, because they lead to human deaths or disabilities, or irreversible changes in ecosystems and/or cascade into multiple other threats, or perpetuate marginalisation. Third, it highlights that we must systematically ask what is going on in peoples' perceptions that can inhibit or accelerate the SDGs. Fourth, highlighting human resilience, it promotes the agency of individuals and communities to help each other and themselves, including by claiming their rights and fulfilling corresponding responsibilities as per an agreed 'social contract'.

We turn now to learning from concrete experiences: first, in the worlds of policy and practice in Latvia, where human security ideas have been

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<sup>10</sup> See illustrations in e.g. Picciotto et al. (2007), Jolly and Basu Ray (2006, 2007).

discussed and used since around 2002; and second, from the COVID-19 crisis. Development concepts can be useful in policy processes in various ways. They can: (a) promote awareness and discussions about the future; (b) create demand for certain types of policy, for example by highlighting vulnerable individuals and shared risks; (c) be used to describe and assess current situations and policy, by providing criteria for focusing within complex systems and for data-collection in evaluation; (d) help in structuring and programming policy; and/or (e) provide motivation that supports all of these (cf. Debiel and Werthes 2006, Gasper 2020b). The Latvian case shows how a human security perspective has contributed in each of these ways.

### **3 Human security, resilience and the SDGs – a perspective from Latvia, 1991-2020**

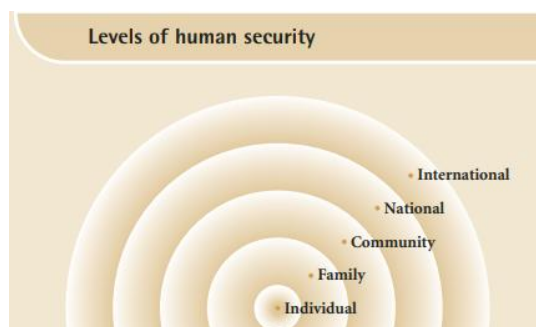
Latvia, a middle-income Baltic country, is a good case to examine regarding how ‘UN Ideas’ (Jolly et al. 2009) have helped to shape a nation. While rarely mentioned in the media of other countries, it interestingly illustrates pathways of human security and the SDGs in national governance. Latvia joined the UN in 1991 after regaining independence from Soviet rule. Some ‘UN Ideas’ won prominence and were deeply considered in national Human Development Reports (NHDRs). These elaborated and localised UN concepts, from poverty reduction (1996) to human security (2003) to human capability (2010). Human security ideas, understood especially as strengthening human resilience, entered national policy discussion spaces with the 2003 Report and became a guiding framework in the part of the National Development Plan 2014-2020 (Govt. of Latvia 2012, known as NDP2020) that set medium term goals toward achieving Latvia’s Sustainable Development Strategy to 2030 (Govt. of Latvia 2010, known as Latvia2030). Once NDP2020 was programmed, the human security concept *per se* declined in use for reasons noted later, including because the SDGs became prominent from 2015 onwards. However, the COVID-19 crisis has renewed interest in human resilience.

#### *Human Security through Strengthening Resilience – the 2003 NHDR*

The Latvian Human Development Report on Human Security (2003) gained international attention when it received the 2004 UNDP Human Development Award for Excellence. The Report provided new depth to UN work on human security. Its innovativeness arose through collaboration between Latvian experts from economics, political science, sociology, psychology, social psychology, government and management. It argued that besides addressing specific threats, individuals and society as a whole needed to more generally strengthen their abilities, first, to prevent or reduce potential threats, whether sudden or pervasive, and second, when they occur, to cope with them and mitigate their consequences. The Report discussed how this could be done by strengthening five ‘securitability’ factors for most people, namely: 1) economic security (sufficient and predictable income), 2) individual personal characteristics, 3) close positive interpersonal relations, 4) the ability to cooperate between people, and 5) the ability/capacity to trust and cooperate with government institutions and international organisations (UNDP 2003). These factors reflect the idea that people always exist as individuals but within a series of progressively wider circles – family, community, national, and international (Figure 1). More levels can be specified. If people feel safe, they identify and cooperate through these circles. If they do not feel attachment or belonging at one or more of these levels, they perceive them not as extensions of themselves and as resources, but as threats and not to be trusted.



**Figure 1**  
**Visualisation of levels of human security**



Source: UNDP, 2003

Individual agency is therefore considered of key importance, including a person's feeling that he/she can effect change. The same goes in regard to communities, organisations and the country. Individual security strategies can help in developing resilience, plus people are more resilient if they cooperate in an active civil society. However, if a person or group of people has gone below a certain threshold, assistance is needed, from a relevant 'security constellation' – a configuration of security providers with coordinated strategies. Finally, the 2003 NHDR advised that policy makers should prioritise addressing people with low resilience and should consider subjective perceptions as well as objective realities since both influence behaviour.

#### *Entry of Sustainable Development and later of Human Security into Latvian Policy Planning*

Latvia2030, the Sustainable Development Strategy to 2030, completed in 2010, was a milestone in synthesising society's needs by harnessing the UN idea of sustainable development. Created from 2007 through a nation-wide participatory process, Latvia2030 is considered close to a social contract. All national development plans and sectoral planning documents must now be geared towards achieving it. Within this frame, human security thinking in the form of human resilience as concept and policy priority was used from 2012 in the National Development Plan 2014-2020. The Plan was influenced by the 2008-2012 financial crisis that caused economic hardship and a mass exodus to other countries. It aimed to promote economic competitiveness, human resilience, and equal conditions throughout Latvia. The Plan specified five areas for strengthening human resilience, based on the factors outlined in the 2003 NHDR: 1) decent work, and support for those people unable to work; 2) creating stability in childhood and close personal relations; then two areas that shape individual characteristics: 3) health and 4) education; and lastly, 5) promoting active engagement in society and sense of belonging to Latvia. The National Employment Agency's work on profiling clients to provide personalised services to facilitate employability is an example of strengthening *individual security strategies*. Creation of *coordinated security strategies* between different security providers is exemplified by the work of the Ministry of

Welfare and its partners in creating a model for integrated multi-institutional and community response in cases of violence against women. Unusually, in its section on promoting engagement of society and sense of belonging, NDP2020 set measurable goals for advancing mutual trust among the population and also trust in the political system.

### *Entry of the Sustainable Development Goals*

The Latvia2030 strategy considerably predated the SDGs, and NDP2020 had entered into force a year before the global Agenda 2030 and SDGs came strongly to the government's attention in 2015. However, the Agenda and SDGs have been used in Latvia in at least two ways – they have created demand for action in certain policy areas and they are used to benchmark Latvia's policies. Comparisons between the national plans and the global agenda revealed only limited gaps. Mapping the 17 SDGs and their 169 targets against the totality of government policy outcome indicators showed that the SDGs are addressed in nearly all cases. They are also kept on the public agenda by NGOs and academic institutions that have international networks. A strength of the SDGs, confided one parliamentarian, is that they give an international *lingua franca* for policy debates. Further, the 2018 Voluntary National Review, co-created by the centre of government, ministries, local government authorities and other stakeholders, stimulated awareness and discussions around the SDGs and built consensus on their values and principles, including 'to leave no one behind'. To date, however, there has been little discussion on using the 2030 Agenda to make difficult choices. The norm to ensure multi-stakeholder engagement has brought a push to broaden the 2021-2027 National Development Plan's scope rather than narrow it, which may defer the tough choices that inevitably result from limited financing, at least until final-hour budget discussions. The draft 2021-27 Plan (NDP 2027) is now based also on the 'quality of life' concept, which has become seen by opinion-makers as attractively positive and forward-looking.

### *Where is human security now?*

Because the post-2008 financial crisis had left limited resources to distribute, the National Development Plan 2014-2020 used the concept of human resilience to guide decision-making in programming and financing. The new NDP2027, although framed in terms of quality of life, still contains actions strengthening human resilience, without using the term 'human security'. The substantive human security content is in fact strengthened. The 16 areas named in NDP2027 include "improving psychological and emotional well-being", "strengthening the role of the family", "social inclusion", "work and income", "strengthening social cohesion (mutual trust)", and "justice and good governance (trust in the justice system and in government)" as well as "security". One envisaged activity is a new service with combined educational, medical and psychological support to aid early identification of psychological and behavioural issues, during early childhood.

*Perceived strengths and limitations of using SDGs and human security ideas and formats*

The SDGs contribute to discussions in Latvia about the future. They help to assess the trajectory of existing and planned action, though their potential seems limited for structuring and programming action. First, the SDGs seem to be articulated as all equally priorities, giving little guidance on phasing when choices must be made. Second, Agenda 2030 is not an agile framework for dealing with emerging risks and threats. Third, the SDGs currently do not address perceptions. In all three respects—prioritizing; preparing for, changing and responding to shocks and crises; taking perceptions seriously—attention to human security can help.

In terms of prioritizing and agile response, Latvia's human resilience approach and support measures have helped people become better able to cope with changes. The approach has shown its worth during the COVID-19 crisis where agility has been of the utmost importance (Section 4 below), and will be useful in response to future threats too. In regard to perceptions: these often determine the success of policies, perhaps increasingly so given the risks of misinformation that now exist online. The human security discourse in Latvia has here helped to promote an understanding that: (a) people can create individual strategies, cooperate with each other and work within trusting relationships with their governments and the international community, if they live free of fear and free of want; and (b) the digital era gives us much greater opportunity to create personalised and customised support from multiple providers, to strengthen resilience where it has been compromised.

Several challenges or limitations have also been encountered in practice in Latvia. First, in contrast to SDGs' focusing on the positive, human security analyses can be resisted by some audiences, perceived and presented as risk-avoidance oriented, carrying a defensive connotation rather than boldly positive. Second, concerns with perceptions are not always easy to convert into simple planning tools and targets; perceptions are hard to reliably quantify or to clearly relate to behaviour. Thirdly, changes in actual and felt security and resilience can be hard to attribute to specific policy measures, making policy evaluation more difficult. We comment in our Conclusions section on some responses to these challenges.

## 4 Learning from COVID-19, with and for human security analysis

The SDGs provide a valuable common framework of policy goals, a *lingua franca* for global cooperation and global and intra-national accountability. We have suggested, in general terms and with specifics from Latvia, that the SDGs framework should be complemented by human security analysis, including for: first, finer-tuned investigation of what affects particular population groups in pursuit of the ambition ‘to leave no one behind’; second, understanding, preparing for and responding in complex crises, including but certainly not restricted to those that involve physical violence; and third, sensitivity to the psychological and perceptual dimensions of security and well-being, for without that, policy will fail. The COVID-19 crisis illustrates all these complexities.

In regard to the first point, differential vulnerabilities, research into the virus so far has indicated that greater age and preexisting health challenges and behaviours make some people particularly vulnerable. Beyond that, as with other diseases, these ‘biological’ factors are compounded by the social determinants of health – factors such as location, housing, incomes, access to food, health services and education-level (cf. Dahlgren and Whitehead 1991). In the case of a major pandemic like this, the social determinants ramify very far because the pandemic causes comprehensive economic and social harms, that hit weaker groups far harder. We will discuss those ramifying effects after attention to the second point, the requirements for more adequate preparedness and their non-fulfilment in many countries, including amongst the richest.

### *Responses in the COVID-19 pandemic: on disaster (un)preparedness*

In the first instance the pandemic is about health insecurity and the associated fears. After the virus and then its structure were identified and made public during January, WHO declared a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) on 30 January 2020. Most countries were seriously unprepared to respond, but some like Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea took rapid and effective action. We have seen from such cases, and from middle-income territories such as Thailand, Vietnam and even Kerala, the major difference made by rapid response based on learning from earlier epidemics. Even a middle-income country like Latvia, not recently exposed to a closely similar epidemic, responded effectively in many important ways. After Latvia’s state of emergency was declared on March 12, communications about the situation came in simple messages from the prime minister and a health minister, using evidently sincere and direct language. The government immediately set up a one-stop information portal, published all decisions and livestreamed Cabinet meetings. While it is too early to comment definitively on

some matters, Latvia has arguably reaped considerable returns from its earlier investments in promoting human resilience and societal trust. It was ranked second amongst OECD countries, behind only South Korea, on the effectiveness of its COVID-19 response (Sachs et al. 2020).

In contrast, the UK had preparatory warnings of possible major virus outbreaks on several occasions in earlier years, most recently in 2019, when the government received an extensive warning in the 2019 National Security Risk Assessment. This highlighted a scenario of an influenza-type virus pandemic. The scenario was given the highest seriousness rating for expected negative impact, 'Catastrophic' (5 out of 5), a likelihood rating of 'Medium', and an overall risk rating of 'Very High'. However, the major recommendations were not acted on by a government preoccupied with Brexit and related policy rhetoric. An existing plan for national pandemic preparation had also not been implemented (Hopkins 2020). No action was taken and even stocks of personal protective equipment (PPE) were run down as a cost-saving measure. After the epidemic hit the UK, the government introduced lockdown measures but substantially later than other European countries. By May 1st, the UK had around 175,000 confirmed cases and some 28,000 persons had died; by June 29<sup>th</sup>, about 312,000 and almost 44,000 respectively.<sup>11</sup>

In the US the administrations of Presidents Bush and Obama had prepared action plans for pandemics, including a plan delivered to incoming President Trump at the end of 2016. But neglect prevailed thereafter, including closure of the pandemic preventive unit in the National Security Council in March 2018. The US Centers for Disease Control publicly warned of a new virus in China on 12<sup>th</sup> January 2020 and thereafter on several occasions in January and February US public health officials warned the President in his daily briefings. He chose to make a series of dismissive public statements. By July 20<sup>th</sup> 2020 there were almost 4 million confirmed cases, and 143,000 identified (i.e. tested) deaths in the US; by October 27<sup>th</sup>, 8.7 million cases and 225,000 deaths.

#### *Human insecurity: the differential 'secondary' impacts*

In the second instance, the crisis is about insecurities in income, employment and often food. Perhaps most countries adopted a lock-down and isolation response. In the formal economy, for many middle-class professionals, this meant work-from-home with at most somewhat reduced productivity; but for workers in manufacturing and services it meant continuing to work at personal health risk, or going on furlough with reduced pay, or being dismissed. Global unemployment has jumped to levels not seen since the 1930s. The ILO estimated that already as of late April 305 million full-time jobs had been lost (ILO 2020, 4).

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<sup>11</sup> [WHO Coronavirus Disease \(COVID-19\) Dashboard](https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019/situation-reports). On the UK's series of weaknesses and failings, see a detailed report by the newspapers *The Observer* and *The Guardian*: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/18/how-did-britain-get-its-response-to-coronavirus-so-wrong>

Over 60% of the global workforce, 2 billion people, work in the informal economy. Estimates in May suggested that in this group already almost 1.6 billion had been significantly impacted by the COVID-19 crisis (ILO May 2020, 1). They need income support to survive and feed their families since almost all lack social protection, even at a minimal level. In countries where many informal workers are migrants, there has been a forced exodus back to home countries or from urban centres to villages of origin. This has often led to immediate destitution, as many lack substantial savings. Families lose remittance incomes on which they are often economically dependent.

In the care economy, the gendered division of labour makes the bulk of care responsibilities fall to women (Koehler 2015). In numerous respects, the pandemic and lockdowns have multiplied the care work burden as the entire family is at home, some members may fall ill, and out-of-school children require more attention and learning support (UN Women 2020). Men face a greater direct health threat though, plus possibly various indirect physical and psychological health impacts.

Regarding children, 1.5 billion children have been out of school as a consequence of school closures. Some can follow home schooling, but 1 billion people do not have electricity at home, and there is an enormous divide, digitally and otherwise, between but also within rich and low-income countries. Many lower income households have neither the internet connection and computers nor the life-skills and background needed for home-schooling. There is a risk that some children will not return to school when these reopen, as was observed for girl children after other crises (UNICEF 2020). Though the direct impact of the virus on children seems to be small, the indirect impacts of lockdown, economic setbacks and recession are likely to be major, sometimes catastrophic, in the medium and even longer term, especially in poorer countries (Cornia et al. 2020). While nationals are being hit hard, migrants and other non-citizens are hit still harder.

In Latvia, many steps were taken promptly in March to ensure sufficient and predictable income, including support via companies to their employees, extensions of status and benefits for the unemployed, and increased family benefits. Financing was given to both public and commercial media, to ensure no disruption in passage of useful information to the population; and public service announcements, repeated at prime times, informed people staying at home what to do if domestic violence is an issue. Citizens, NGOs and private businesses started helping vulnerable groups. An online platform, #stayathome, emerged to connect those who need support and volunteers willing to help. As Latvia transitioned into a recovery phase, the network evolved into #easytohelp.

This is not to say that everything was going smoothly in Latvia. There will be consequences from the decrease in non-emergency health services; home-schooling has been a challenge, especially for parents with low education levels; and more. Still, government action has mostly increased trust. Restrictions on movement were not used by the authorities to exhibit a sense

of power. As the Head of the National Police said, the police have been on the streets to advise people on protecting themselves, not to punish them. This goodwill was largely reciprocated. Many people remain concerned about having sufficient income and have been experiencing other insecurities. However, many groups who were considered in advance to be vulnerable – persons with disabilities, the homeless, persons with low incomes – proved to have or gain channels of support. Still, there are groups that experience special difficulties, for example children on the autism spectrum who need a daily routine that has been interrupted, or persons with multiple vulnerabilities, such as single parents with low incomes and essential work who cannot stay to home-school their children. Another new vulnerable group includes (former) employers and employees in sectors that are suddenly without work or will not exist in the future.

Overall, Latvia's COVID-19 experience seems to have built on its earlier investments towards human resilience and to be further augmenting that. People appear to be supporting each other more and the government has become more strongly responsive to needs in society. Before approving the NDP2027 the Parliament directed the government to urgently address healthcare support, including for individuals and households most at risk. A big challenge remains in identifying and addressing the specific needs of specific vulnerable groups, especially the newly vulnerable.

#### *Pointers for better (health) disaster preparedness*

Future COVID-19 type epidemics are quite likely.<sup>12</sup> New viruses from zoonosis (disease transmission from animals to humans) are expected to increase as the habitat areas of wild animals continue to be encroached on. Following the 2002-04 SARS epidemic that involved a similar corona virus, reports to WHO had predicted more such epidemics in the fairly near future.<sup>13</sup> Whereas for COVID-19, genetic sequencing technology allowed rapid identification of the exact nature of the virus and rapid roll-out in China and neighbouring countries of large-scale diagnostic testing, the world might not be so fortunate in regard to other challenges.

The responses to the SARS epidemic and the current COVID-19 pandemic must be studied further for lessons in relation to disaster preparedness. Already evident are the elementary but fundamental principles of, first, prioritizing preventive actions and, second, building preparedness to rapidly respond. The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, adopted

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<sup>12</sup> See e.g. “there are a lot of coronaviruses in bats and a lot of SARS-like coronaviruses similar to this one and the original SARS” – interview with Dr. Anthony Fehr, University of Kansas: <https://www.kansascitymag.com/heres-what-could-have-stopped-the-covid-19-epidemic-according-to-a-kansas-coronavirus-expert/> .

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/25/ourselves-scientist-says-human-intrusion-nature-pandemic-aoe> . See also <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/03/07/coronavirus-epidemic-prediction-policy-advice-121172> on such predictions and an analysis of required policy preparations contrasted to current realities.

in 2015 by the UN General Assembly, enunciates relevant principles for a range of risks to human security, beyond epidemics.<sup>14</sup> These Sendai principles highlight the need for surge capacity in regard to health, food and education. The WHO too has advised continuously on the problematic state of epidemic and disaster preparedness. One can compare these preparations with those routinely made by most countries for military security: continuous research and monitoring, rapid response readiness and contingency plans, stockpiling of key equipment, national and international response exercises, periodic reviews of government policy in which ministers are held accountable. One sees gross imbalances between the (possibly excessive) resources and organization commonly allocated to military preparations and those allocated to preventing and countering health and other risks. In most countries, a shift of resources would greatly enhance human security as a whole (see e.g. UNDP 2012b). Box 1 suggests a list of basics for health crisis preparedness.

*Box 1: Priorities for Health Crises Preparedness*

1. Sound system of public health rooted in the ethos of UHC (Universal Health Coverage)
2. Building surge capacity and ensuring that it is continuously available for medical professionals, care-staff, and administrators
3. Advance stockpiling of equipment, medication, supplies, food
4. Rapid-response-planning must be in place
5. Research facilities to be ready to monitor, rapidly investigate and analyse outbreaks as new health crises emerge, and to work on treatments and vaccines to prevent and control them
6. Routine exercises to ensure readiness at national and local levels
7. Adequate financial support from the government for well-endowed disaster preparedness, from prevention to recovery, and for public health systems that are at surge capacity level
8. Rapid and transparent evidence-guided leadership from government, experts from all disciplines, and avenues for public consultations
9. Built-in ex-ante attention to those individuals and groups facing the highest levels of insecurity due to multiple forms of marginalisation
10. Due recognition and higher attention given to the care economy in responding to crises.

Is it excessive to have a public health system that is oversized for normal burdens of disease? We suggest not. First, there is a right to health services for all in the UDHR, made binding in article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), plus the commitment in SDG 3.8 to universal health coverage. Second, one can compare these capacity choices to decisions in other areas. Developed countries keep their electricity grids at peak capacity at all times (UNCTAD 2019). On most days the peak is not reached but it is available if needed. Consumers pay via higher electricity costs for the spare capacity that avoids occasional serious disruption – a deliberate

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<sup>14</sup> See: [http://www.preventionweb.net/files/43291\\_sendaiframeworkfordrren.pdf](http://www.preventionweb.net/files/43291_sendaiframeworkfordrren.pdf).



public policy choice. A similar level of consciously incurred costs to guarantee preparedness for peaks, surges and pandemics is more widely appropriate in disaster preparedness.

The widespread disruption of life in response to COVID-19 might open a window for broader action against other forms of human insecurities. In the Latvia case, for example, the pandemic has propelled forward the NDP2027 and SDG initiatives toward an innovative and climate-friendly economy, including in digitalisation and R&D. Distance work, distance education, and the increase in public and private services available online that the crisis has brought about should help decrease greenhouse gas emissions. In all countries, this sort of broader preparation should start before the window of new awareness closes again.

## 5 Conclusions: Making the SDGs—and people and societies—more resilient

The grand policy agenda of the SDGs is inevitably shaken by events. It needs to be stirred so that countries and the international community accelerate action as promised for a “decade of action” to achieve the Goals by 2030 (UN General Assembly 2019). For this it needs an injection of supportive and supplementary tools. Human security thinking and experience have important roles to play here – for understanding vulnerabilities, preparing for and responding to disruptions, motivating cooperation, and supporting the necessary cross-sector perspective.

Human security analysis combines a concern for fulfilment of rightful priority needs for all with a systematic attention to the threats to fulfilment that can arise and sometimes escalate, including due to the interplay of many interconnected factors as we see for example in the COVID-19 crisis. Study of the range and interactions of threat factors is part of a focus on the reality of people’s lives, including on their perceptions, fears, ‘local knowledge’ and capacities. A human security perspective stresses consultation, attention to these fears and perceptions, and policy emphases on basic needs support, empowerment, promoting human resilience and transcending policy silos, in order to better understand and assist people as they face the challenges and complexities in their lives.

We saw that in contrast to the SDGs’ focus on vistas of progress, or to discourses of well-being, human security analyses can be resisted by some audiences, perhaps especially some politicians, being viewed as defensive rather than boldly optimistic. But the perspectives are necessary partners. Possibly the COVID-19 crisis, which may conceivably be a forerunner of other mega-crises, will encourage a balanced approach, in which the positive ambition of the SDGs is appropriately married to what Amartya Sen has called the “cautious and individually articulated perspective” of human security that gives sober attention to the real lives of real vulnerable persons (Sen 2015, 154).

Some summary messages and suggestions arising from the paper are offered below.

*Suggestions especially for the UN:*

1. Human security analysis (as endorsed in General Assembly Resolution 66/290 of 2012) is required in pursuing the 2030 Agenda commitment that *no-one be left behind*.
2. A human security approach is a necessary partner for the SDGs framework, to help to *more systematically recognise and address threats and risks* that can undermine the 2030 Agenda and the three freedoms.
3. Correspondingly, work in the UN system on SDGs, disaster risk reduction, human development and human security should be well integrated, under the theme of ‘*secure human development*’ (UNDP 2014, 18).

*Suggestions especially for governments:*

1. Adding a human security lens to the SDGs supports a fundamental change in thinking. Policymakers and local leaders, and also journalists and media-people, need to shift from thinking of security overwhelmingly in military and policing terms to thinking in terms of human security, where *threats to people from many causes are placed at the centre*.
2. People with multiple vulnerabilities need coordinated responses, personalised as far as possible to their *specific combination of risk factors*, to ensure results. This approach lets governments spend for services that better achieve results, rather than acting according to a person's attribution to a specific group in terms of a single criterion.
3. Many relevant *research and policy tools* can be mobilized for this work. Some emphasised in this paper (especially Section 2) are: human security indexes and identification of 'hotspots', to help focus priority attention; collection and use of information on *perceived* insecurities, for comparison with expert estimates and measures; scenarios analyses; periodic comparisons of the human effectiveness of different actions (e.g., in terms of quality-adjusted life-years); and flexibility in focusing, partly varying over time through the alternation of periodic comparative multi-sector studies and subsequent focus on identified current priorities.
4. States need to think systematically how to ensure *adequate preparation and response in times of crises*, drawing on the Sendai framework. The COVID-19 crisis (see Section 4) has shown how lack of prevention plus frequently slow response action can cause hundreds of thousands of deaths and disrupt billions of lives. Comparison across countries shows that more serious attention to human security and human resilience, including through prior preventive actions, would have avoided much of this. In the foreseeable future, global overheating, climate change and climate chaos are likely to generate considerably greater challenges.
5. A human security approach embraces actions *to strengthen human resilience*. For example, school education needs to build early foundations in all sections of the population. Preventive action should go beyond the physical to encompass also perceptions, risks to mental health and extremes of anxiety.

*Suggestions especially for the policy research community:*

1. Much *relevant experience, reflection and practical knowledge for using a human security perspective and for refining the approach exist*, some of it available in scientific literature (e.g., Owen ed. 2013) but some not. We need *to extend and better share research on human security*. Latvia is an example of a country which has partly used a human security approach since 2010, drawing on extensive research since at least 2002. This is relatively little known and so was discussed here in some detail (Section 3). Such examples should be studied and debated more, to assess what is of wider relevance and applicability.
2. Synthesis of work on *human security indicators and indices* is probably one priority, together with linking and comparing with related indicators and indices, such as those compiled for monitoring the SDGs (United Nations, 2020).

3. Various country experiences, including in the current COVID-19 crisis, suggest how a human security-oriented policy approach can promote and strengthen a constructive *social contract* (subsection 2.1, qn. 1); including by articulating and supporting fulfilment of fundamental rights and responsibilities for all, and by giving attention to people's perceptions and fears. Research on this theme is another priority.
4. Societal preparedness for major threats to human security requires changes in our concepts, research, communication and public discussion, planning and resource allocation. We noted some of the *challenges that will be encountered*. For example, perceptions are sometimes hard to reliably quantify or to clearly relate to behaviour, so concerns with perceptions can be difficult to convert into simple planning tools and targets. Besides indicating areas for ongoing research, we note though that major advances exist already in collecting, analysing and using such information.<sup>15</sup>

Overall, while much work is required, the available research and experiences already strongly indicate the viability and value of employing, applying and adapting many human security ideas and tools in support of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs.

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<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Inglehart and Norris (2012), UNDP (2011, 2012a).

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